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AUTHOR Broome, Benjamin J.
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ABSTRACT

In traditional North American Indian societies, decisions are made by consensus rather than by authorities. Americans for Indian Opportunity (AIO), an organization concerned with the issue of tribal governance, considers poor communication and disagreements about issues of power, resources, and recognition to be among the causes for conflict within and among Indian communities. The AIO requested assistance in resolving tribal governance problems from Virginia's George Mason University's Center for Interactive Management, and the two organizations brought together 12 tribal leaders from various areas of the United States for a problem definition and resolution session. The session's objectives were (1) to identify significant governance issues for the next decade, (2) to organize these issues for appropriate action, (3) to develop a preliminary representation of options and initiatives, and (4) to expose participants to the Interactive Management approach for issue-management. A total of 50 items of contention were identified as a result of the session, from which participants selected a subset of 29 items of greater importance. Time constraints prevented further progress, but future work might focus on designing strategies compatible with each leader's specific situation. The process of learning together created a spirit of cooperation among the participants, and this bond suggested that future problem-solving will be easier. (Two figures and a two-page bibliography are included.) (AEW)

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COMMUNICATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN
MANAGING TRIBAL GOVERNANCE ISSUES AMONG AMERICAN INDIANS

Benjamin J. Broome, Ph.D

Department of Communication
and
Center for Interactive Management
George Mason University
4400 University Drive
Fairfax, Virginia USA
(703) 323-4107

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Benjamin J. Broome
Center for Interactive Management
George Mason University
Fairfax, Virginia USA

PREFACE

The topic of Native American tribal governance has been the subject of much concern among both Indian and non-Indian groups in the past few years. This paper focuses on the the issues involved in the tribal governance problematique*. The paper will discuss the background of the tribal governance issues, and it will focus on the application of a culturally-sensitive approach to dealing with the situation. The results of an initial two-day problem-solving session sponsored by **Americans for Indian Opportunity** and conducted by the **Center for Interactive Management** at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia in October of 1986 will be presented.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Background of Tribal Governance Issues

In early North American colonial history, the European invaders negotiated agreements and treaties with various bands, groups and occasionally confederations of various groups of natives who had their own governmental systems. The basic social fabric of these governmental systems was kinship (Taylor, 1983), with some being roving bands with individual leaders and others living in villages or pueblos. This treaty making ceased in 1871, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs became the central figure in Indian governance. This was true until the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 emphasized strengthening tribal government. The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 provided a greater funding base for this policy to be realized.

* The term "problematique" refers to the interdependent system of issues involved in a problem situation.

Taylor (1984) indicates that from early times until around 1870 the general policy of the U. S. government was to attempt to have tribes manage their own internal affairs, including law and order. This "sovereignty" of Indian tribes was slowly eroded with congressional acts such as the Major Crimes Act of 1885, which placed major offenses committed by Indians in Indian country under federal rather than tribal jurisdiction. Crimes such as murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary and larceny are still prosecuted today by federal district attorneys in federal courts.

For the most part, the constitutions and bylaws of Indian tribal governments are patterned on model documents furnished by the BIA after 1934 (Taylor, 1983). There are, however, a few traditional governments, such as in some of the pueblos in New Mexico. A particular example of a tribe which has incorporated traditional concepts into its governmental structure is provided by Taylor (1984).

"The Navajo pass ordinances and resolutions, and the present three volumes of such enactments constitute their governing documents. The evolving governing structure contains elements of traditional Navajo society modeled on the federal authority structure. 'From a family centered, locally oriented, loosely structured, non-authoritarian society, a collectivistic, tribe-centered, authoritarian nationalistic modern state is being created.' According to Mary Shepardson the traditional system slows up the rate of change, but the Navajo Tribal Council has achieved a consensus of modernists and traditionalists that will result in the institutionalization of the new system." (p. 83)

While there are great differences among Indian nations in the development and sophistication of their tribal government, there is a growing realization among Indian tribes of the need to take firm control of many governmental functions. As Ponting & Gibbons (1984) remind us, Indian government is not a panacea, but it is a step that may attenuate many of the sociological problems facing Indian peoples. Among the problems it would address are the following: (1) It would enhance the perceptions of Indians held by the general public; (2) It would enhance the development of social solidarity, collective goals, cultural pride, positive self-image, and successful role models; and (3) It would enhance "boundary maintenance," the making and keeping of distinctions between groups along traditional cultural lines.

However, there would also be many problems associated with stronger Indian governments. Ponting and Gibbons (1984) discuss the following potential problems: (1) Unrealistic expectations in regard to improving living and working conditions; (2) Loss of outside scapegoats, leading to a deepening of existing political cleavages within the Indian communities or opening of new divisions; (3) Difficulties in developing allocative mechanisms to redistribute wealth among Indian communities; and (4) Increased tensions between reserve and off-reserve Indians

over the issue of rights and obligations of those not living on the reservation.

Obstacles to Stronger Tribal Governments

Even though there is a growing realization among American Indians of the need for stronger tribal governments, the achievement of this goal is hindered by two primary obstacles: (1) the prevailing cultural attitude toward Indian groups, and (2) the historical lack of support for efforts of Native Americans to build their own governmental systems.

Historically the non-Indian attitude towards Indians was based on the belief that Indian culture, social institutions, and governmental forms were inferior to those of European immigrants (Kickingbird, 1984). As stated by Taylor (1984), "The English tended to consider themselves and their way of life superior to the aboriginal people they encountered, and they expected that such persons and societies would see the logic of adopting English ways" (p. 5). The attempt was to "educate" the Indian so that traditional ways would be abandoned and the Anglo culture would be embraced. This would mean that eventually Indian governments would die out. Indeed, a great deal of the federal legislation enacted in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was based on this view.

Even though recent years have shown a trend towards more self-determination on the part of Indian governments, and "there has been a growing acceptance within the United States government in recent decades of the strength of Indian nations and their determination to re-establish meaningful control over their lives and resources" (Kickingbird, 1984, p. 51-52), the problem of negative perception still exists. Jarvenpa (1985) points out that the European philosophy of Indians as "childlike subordinates" still influences the manner in which the U. S. government deals with Indian tribes and Indian people. He writes that "the basic model remains that Indians are subordinate within the nation and require special regulation by a federal bureaucracy" (Jarvenpa, 1985, p. 30).

Perhaps because of the attitudes described above, until recently U. S. Indian policy has shown little concern for Indian traditions, cultural values, and self-determination. Modern tribal governance is a product of U. S. government policy such as the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act, and the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. According to Kickingbird (1984), American Indians have been the subject of more federal legislation than any other single group in the United States, and this legislation has limited the power of Indian nations to exercise their sovereign rights. In addition, current constitutions and bylaws of Indian tribal governments are based on non-Indian ideas rather than on Indian tradition (Taylor, 1984).

These externally imposed federal policies have led to systems of governance which are in many ways incongruent with traditional Native American values and social/governmental structures. The conflict between the Indian worldview and the Euro-American mode of operating is addressed by a number of authors, including Farber (1970) who writes:

Indians generally have been compelled to adopt traditional Anglo-American concepts even though representative institutions may not meet their needs or work satisfactorily. This has led to undue concern with how to compel adoption and adaptation and too little concern with natively based and accepted traditional practices (p. 123).

An example of this conflict is provided by Marule (1984), who discusses the relation between the Canadian government and the Indian tribes within its territories. Marule demonstrates that the Canadian government's policies (which have historically been similar to those in the U. S.) are undermining tribal identity by emphasizing individualism and materialism. For example, the Anglo-European model of an elected form of government, which is based on individual ownership of land and the delegation of authority from above, is in direct conflict with traditional Indian government practices, where there has always been a strong tradition of decision-making by consensus. As shown by Farber (1970), Indians have not traditionally had an overhead centralizing government with a continuous, defined delegation of authority to a legislative representative. Marule (1984) argues that the consensual political system, the traditional kinship system, the communal ownership system, and the collective economic system are being subverted under the present form of government.

The distinction between the collective orientation of American Indians and the concept of individual rights underlying Western law and institutions is viewed by Jarvenpa (1985) in the following manner:

This fundamental distinction will continue to define the separateness of Indians in North American society legally, socially and ideologically. These group rights are seen by most Indians as an integral part of their traditions, along with other cultural assets that are either absent or lost among the technologically acquisitive urban peoples of European tradition." (p. 44)

Need for Communication and Conflict Resolution

The organization for whom the issue of tribal governance has been a major focus is Americans for Indian Opportunity (AIO). During the past four years a series of seminars have been held involving tribal leaders, representatives from the private sector, and advisors from major institutions such as the Brookings Institute, the Aspen Institute, the Kettering Foundation and others. These

seminars sought to compare and contrast Indian cultural concepts of governance with western concepts, to examine the internal dynamics of tribal government, and to explore the future of tribal government.

The results of these seminars convinced AIO leadership that Native Americans need their own environment in which to hold discussions on topics of tribal governance. As stated by the AIO president, LaDonna Harris: "We no longer want to be mere recipients of policy, but rather we want to have an active part in creating the policy which affects us" (AIO report, 1983).

Among the many recommendations for further work which emerged out of these seminars are the following two key considerations: (a) An emphasis on communication leading to more unity among Indian people; and (b) Work on conflict resolution, particularly intratribal conflict. Because tribes are small, homogeneous social systems, the existence of poorly managed conflicts and lack of adequate communication can destabilize tribal government.

Although there are many reasons for its existence, the following are seen by those working on the governance project as major causes for conflict within and among the Indian communities (AIO Report, 1983):

- * The lack of intentional efforts to build consensus;
- * Poor communication;
- * Differing perceptions in the distribution of power, resources, recognition, etc.; and
- * Inadequate institutions to deal with problems.

These considerations led the AIO leadership to seek an approach to dealing with the tribal governance problematique which would compliment traditional Indian values and which would facilitate communication and conflict resolution within and among the different tribes.

MANAGING TRIBAL GOVERNANCE ISSUES

In addressing the complexity of the tribal governance problematique, careful consideration must be given to the appropriateness of the approach employed. The cultural traditions of the Indian community, based on consensus, often collide with the dispute resolution approaches imposed by non-Indian law and tradition. As stated by the AIO president: "Our energy is sapped by coping with foreign forms and the time it takes to adapt them to our needs" (AIO Report, 1983).

In traditional Indian societies, authority was a collective right. Even when authority was temporarily delegated to a leader, the responsibility and authority always remained with the people (Marule, 1984). There has always been a strong tradition among American Indians of decision-making by consensus rather than by individuals in authority positions. As stated by Vogt & Albert (1966):

In an Indian community the ideal is to discuss a problem until a consensus is reached on a resolution. Majority decisions which would leave part of the community in disagreement are not valued, because such a situation would violate the rights of the minority and possibly cause friction in the community" (p. 221).

The necessity of reaching a consensus, combined with a different view of time than that used in Anglo-European cultures (see Yinger & Simpson, 1978), often meant that meetings would last for days until a decision could be reached that would be supported by all those present. Frideres (1974) discusses examples of how Anglo government officials often tire of the seemingly meaningless dialogue when conferring over an issue and decide that the Indians are incapable of making a decision (it then follows that the decision is often made for the Indians).

While traditional Indian society may have been served well by relatively unbounded discussion leading to consensus, Pointing & Gibbons (1984) make the point that in today's situation Indians "may find traditional methods of consensus decision-making incapable of serving a very heterogeneous and conflictual electorate" (p. 128). The complexity of the problems facing tribal governments and the increased variety of the participating decision-makers may make too many demands on the old systems in their original form. Thus, what is needed is a methodology for decision-making and problem-solving based on traditional methods and at the same time tailored to the complexities and diversities of today's problems.

Although there are several approaches to problem-solving available, few are able to handle the complexity of the governance situation. This situation is one which spans several areas of expertise, which involves many "layers" of hierarchy within the Indian and the non-Indian communities, which lie outside the boundary of answers to past problems, and which necessitates the reevaluation of the basic variables and assumptions associated with the problem.

To deal with a situation of such complexity, a system of managing group interaction is needed which integrates all of the necessary components of group problem-solving in an efficient and effective manner. AIO turned to George Mason University's Center for **Interactive Management** for assistance in working on the issue of tribal governance. Developed over the past 15 years by Professors John Warfield and Alexander Christakis (see Warfield,

1976; Christakis & Keever, 1984), Interactive Management has been designed specifically to work with groups of individuals with diverse viewpoints in developing viable solutions to complex problems.

Using the Interactive Management (IM) system of complex problem-solving, AIO brought together twelve tribal leaders from various areas of the United States for a two-day problem definition and resolution session. The objectives of the IM session were:

- * To identify significant tribal governance issues for the next decade.
- * To organize these issues for appropriate action.
- * To develop a preliminary field representation of options/initiatives for leaders in the community to consider for action.
- * To expose the participants/observers to the Interactive Management approach for issue-management.

During the first-day session, two Consensus Methodologies were used to identify, clarify and structure the critical issues relating to tribal governance. The Nominal Group Technique, or NGT (Delbecq, Van de Ven & Gustafson, 1975) was used to help participants identify, clarify and discuss the issues surrounding the governance situation.

The following triggering question was used for the idea-generation session:

"What are the significant issues for tribal governance in the next decade?"

Interpretive Structural Modeling, or ISM (Warfield, 1976), was used to structure a subset of these issues according to a relationship of negative impact. The following contextual relationship was used for this structuring session:

"In the context of
developing a consensus on tribal governance,
does issue:

A

significantly aggravate (negatively impact) issue:

B

?"

During the second-day session, the same two Consensus Methodologies were used to generate options/initiatives for resolving the tribal governance problematique. The following triggering question was used for the NGT:

"What are the options/opportunities for
resolving the Tribal Governance Problematique?"

The following contextual relationship was used for the ISM:

"In the context of
building a consensus on tribal governance,
does option/initiative:

A

belong in the same category as option/initiative:

B

?"

At the end of the second-day session, participants were invited to present wrap-up comments. Participants provided views on the group design work and presented their feelings about the effectiveness of the IM system for dealing with the tribal governance problematique.

RESULTS

The NGT used for problem identification produced 49 items (the first problem was split into two separate statements later, producing a total of 50 items). These items were clarified by the participants, and a voting process was used to select a subset of 29 items representing those of greater importance (as perceived by the participants). Twenty-five of the 29 issues in the category of "greater importance" were structured using the aggravation relationship in ISM (four of the items were not used because of time constraints). Figure 1 contains the structure produced by the participants.

<<< Figure 1 >>>

This structure can be interpreted as a "cycle" of mutual aggravation, in which each issue is aggravated by all other issues and at the same time serves as a source of aggravation for each other issue. In other words, all of the problems are perceived by the participants as strongly coupled; all governance issues are interdependent in a system of interlocking problems. If the situation related to one issue improves, it is possible that the situation surrounding the entire cycle of problems will improve. Conversely, the entire problem situation could worsen with a deterioration of one of the issues.

The NGT used for generating options/opportunities produced 41 options/initiatives. These items were clarified by the participants, and the entire list of proposed options was used in the ISM structuring session, this time using a similarity relationship. The structuring session resulted in a preliminary structure of eight categories or dimensions. During participants' discussion of the structure, amendments were made to the structure and the categories were named. The amended structure, which consists of seven dimensions, is displayed in Figure 2.

<<< Figure 2 >>>

While time constraints prevented the participants from doing further work with this "preliminary options field," future work might focus on the results displayed in Figure 2. When the options/initiatives are organized in a pattern for selecting options and building plans, they can be considered by leaders in the Indian community for designing strategies compatible with their local situation.

Participants' comments during the wrap-up session were very favorable, both in regard to the of the design work and in regard to the effectiveness of the IM approach. It was the shared feeling of the participants that it had been an

educational experience, with opportunity to share important perceptions and to clarify thinking on the tribal governance problematique. The resulting product was viewed as useful on the tribal level for developing action plans, providing a coherence, a sense of comprehensiveness, and a direction. The IM process was viewed as very useful in utilizing the knowledge, wisdom, and experience that exists in the Indian community, and several recommendations were made for its use on the tribal level. [1]

DISCUSSION

The results from the two-day problem-solving session sponsored by Americans for Indian Opportunity suggest that a culturally-sensitive methodology for working successfully with tribal governance issues must possess three key characteristics: (a) a holistic approach to group problem solving; (b) a process orientation; and (c) promotion of a collaborative problem-solving environment.

First, a holistic approach to group work must be used with the participants. Traditionally, Indian culture has emphasized the harmonious relations among all living and non-living objects. Implicit in this view is the recognition of the "prolonic" nature of any activity. [2] While many commonly used approaches to conflict resolution fail to recognize the need for an appropriate combination of problem-solving components, the Interactive Management system used with the AIO participants is characterized by a prolonic set of components. In addition to a highly trained facilitator who works with a group of informed participants, Interactive Management incorporates three components which other approaches either fail to adequately address or else neglect altogether:

1. IM makes use of a carefully selected set of Consensus Methodologies which promote focused, open dialogue while guiding the group through the problem definition, design, and choice phases of problem-solving.
2. IM utilizes Computer Equipment and Programs which have been specially developed to assist participants in efficiently organizing and displaying relationships among ideas generated by the participants.
3. IM provides a specially designed Situation Room which provides a comfortable working environment, flexibility of arrangement, display space for an audit trail on progress, and space to accommodate observers who have a stake in the outcomes.

These synergistic components combine in a prolonic manner to provide a unique setting for problem-solving work on complex

issues. This recognition of the interrelated nature of various essential aspects of group consensus-building allows Interactive Management to be used effectively with participants who have a long tradition of holistic approaches to problem-solving.

Second, the approach adopted for working with tribal governance issues must be characterized by a process orientation, rather than a content orientation. Instead of providing consultants or panels of "experts" on Indian law and governance, an approach is needed which works with the content expertise residing within the Indian community. Those who "own" the issues become engaged and responsible for dealing with them. This approach prevents the imposition of external perceptions on the definition and resolution of the problem situation.

A distinction is made in the Interactive Management approach between three critical concepts:

- CONTENT - The ideas generated by the participants;
- CONTEXT - The specific topic of the session;
- PROCESS - The use of selected methodologies which facilitate generating content within a context.

In order to work on complex issues such as tribal governance, Interactive Management relies on appropriate selection of knowledgeable individuals who possess the necessary content expertise. These experts generate content within the context of the problematic situation while guided by processes designed to promote learning and consensus-building. The process experts do not contribute content, and the content experts give full responsibility to the facilitators for guiding the process. This removes the bias of outsiders from the content discussion, and it relieves the participants from concern with the management of the discussion. While Interactive Management does not guarantee that the solution developed by the group will "work," it does guarantee that basic Indian values and principles will not be violated in the process of the design activity.

Third, working with tribal governance issues demands an approach which creates a collaborative problem-solving environment for the participants. Because conflict within and among Indian groups is a major obstacle to dealing with governance issues, an approach must be used which helps the group of participants establish a cooperative climate for collaborative problem-solving. When a "third party mediator" is used to work with group conflicts, the divisions which exist within the group are often accentuated by emphasizing the divisions of the "two parties" in "conflict." With the Interactive Management approach, as participants work through the definition of the problem, they climb the "learning curve" together, developing a shared understanding of the factors

which impact on the problem situation. This process of learning together results in the participants becoming cooperatively bonded with each other. The effects of this bond can be far-reaching as participants implement plans of actions which they have developed.

In summary, AIO opted to experiment with the Interactive Management approach because (a) it provides an approach which is consistent with the Native American Indian goal of self-determination of governance policy; and (b) it is congruent with the traditional consensus building methods of Indian society. Interactive Management addresses the problems of inadequate communication and intratribal conflict by bringing together the stakeholders and creating a cooperative problem-solving environment. It allows the discussion to focus on issues and not personalities, and it helps all parties involved to work toward mutually acceptable outcomes.

ENDNOTES

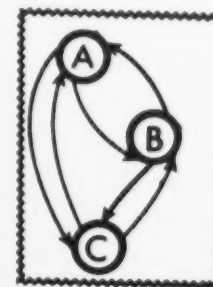
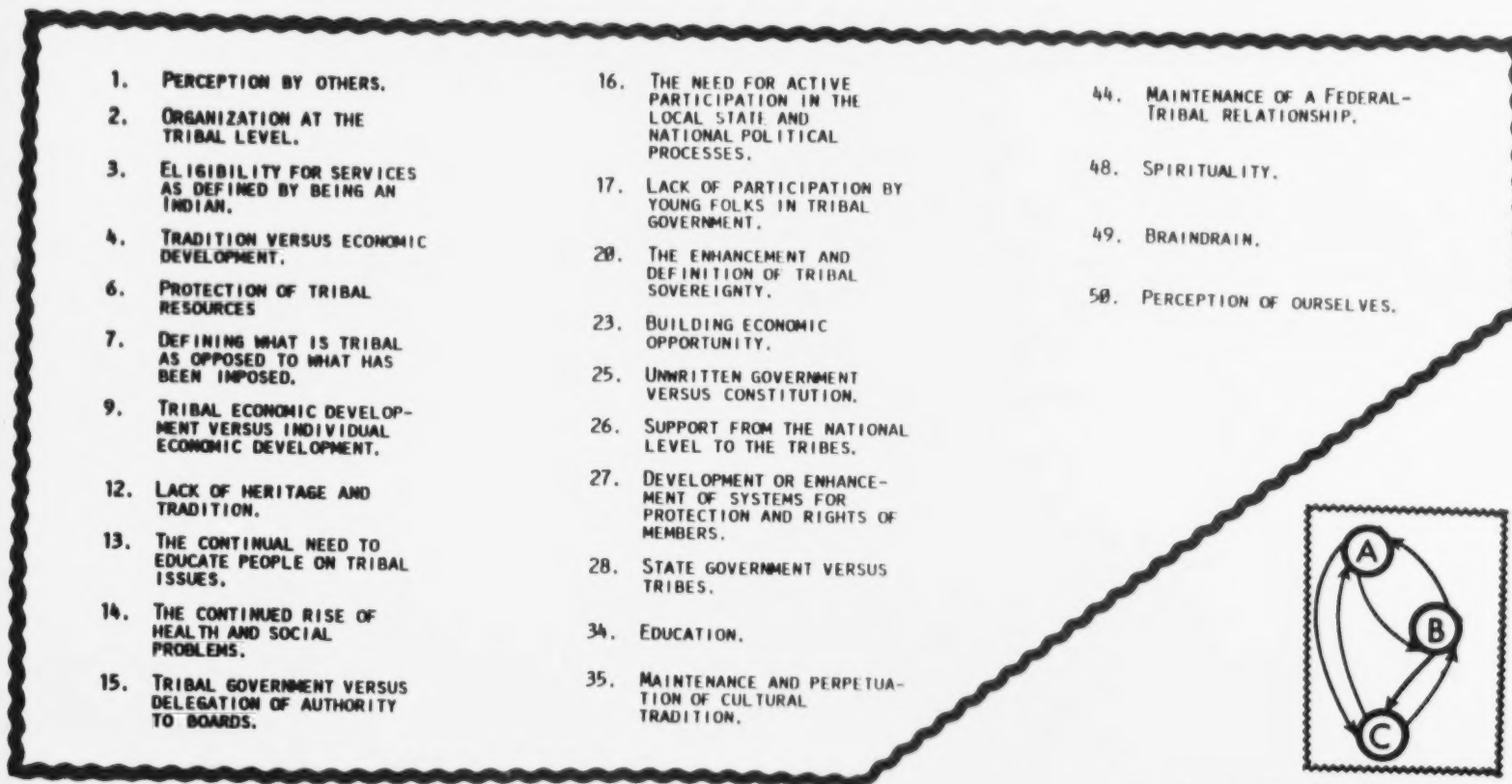
[1] The participants' comments are recorded in the final report on the group work. This report can be obtained for the cost of reproduction and handling by writing to The Center for Interactive Management, 4400 University Drive, Fairfax, Virginia, USA.

[2] The term "proionic" is coined by John Warfield and Alexander Christakis to represent a situation where elements combine to produce a new entity which possesses characteristics not found in the singular elements acting alone. The term comes from the Greek word "proion".

FIGURE 1

Preliminary Structure Of Significant Tribal Governance Issues For The Next Decade

9/29/86



↑
"Significantly
Aggravates"

Example Of Cyclical Relationships
Among "A", "B", & "C"

FIGURE 2

AMENDED Preliminary Options Field For Resolving The Tribal Governance Problematic Situation

9/30/86

A) ORGANIZATION

- 0 IMPROVE ORGANIZATION AT THE TRIBAL LEVELS (2)
- 0 ESTABLISH A VEHICLE TO FOCUS ON OUR YOUNG PEOPLE FOR THE FUTURE (3)
- 0 DEVELOP A STRATEGY TO UTILIZE EXISTING INDIAN RESOURCES (4)
- 0 DEVELOP COMPREHENSIVE SHORT AND LONG RANGE PLANS (5)
- 0 IMPROVE THE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE TRIBAL COUNCIL AND ADMINISTRATION (6)
- 0 LESSER SENSE OF ISOLATION BOTH ACTUAL AND PERCEIVED (13)
- 0 DECREASE "ORGANIZATION" (16)
- 0 STOP THE BRAIN DRAIN (18)
- 0 TRIBES IDENTIFY INTERNAL CONFLICT AND ROOT CAUSES (28)
- 0 PROVIDE MECHANISMS TO DEAL WITH INTERNAL CONFLICT (21)
- 0 ESTABLISH BETTER LAW ENFORCEMENT ON THE TRIBES (25)
- 0 BUILD AND INCREASE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG INDIANS WITHIN TRIBAL COMMUNITIES (38)
- 0 ENCOURAGE REUBEN TO BECOME OUR INDIAN PRINCE (33)
- 0 DO NOT LET THE PILGRIMS GROW BEYOND TWO INCHES (35)
- 0 FIND A MEDIUM AT THE TRIBAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL TO DEAL WITH PERSONNEL MATTERS (38)
- 0 AVOID NECESSARILY EMULATING THE WHITE MAN'S WAY (39)

B) PUBLIC RELATIONS

- 0 FOCUS OUR WORK ON "PERCEPTION BY OTHERS" (7)
- 0 PROMOTE POSITIVE PUBLIC IMAGE OF THE TRIBE THROUGH THE MEDIA (8)
- 0 IDENTIFY AND DISSEMINATE INFORMATION ON THE METHODS OF OPERATION OF THE SUCCESS STORIES ON THE INDIAN COUNTRY (9)
- 0 DEVELOP A PLAN TO EDUCATE NON-INDIANS BY GROUPS SUCH AS EDUCATORS, POLICY MAKERS, ETC. (11)
- 0 ADOPT 250 WHITE AMERICANS (27)
- 0 GHOST DANCE (36)
- 0 INSTITUTIONALIZE TRIBAL GOVERNMENTS WITH THE POLITICAL FABRIC OF THIS COUNTRY (37)
- 0 BUILD A POSITIVE IMAGE OF OUR PEOPLE AND/OR TRIBES (48)
- 0 ESTABLISH INDIAN ROLE MODELS (41)

C) REUBEN

- 0 GIVE UP BEING INDIAN (18)
- 0 MOVE TO SALT LAKE CITY (19)

D) INSTITUTE

- 0 ESTABLISH AN INDIAN INSTITUTE THAT COULD IDENTIFY, RESEARCH AND PUBLISH THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE PROBLEMATIC SITUATION (1)
- 0 DEVELOP WAYS FOR INDIAN TRIBES TO WORK TOGETHER FOR THE BETTERMENT OF ALL (12)
- 0 RESEARCH AND UPGRADE AVAILABLE DATA (14)
- 0 IMPROVE AND IDENTIFY THE KIND OF WORK THAT WE CAN PROVIDE THE TRIBE (15)
- 0 DEVELOP MUTUAL SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR TRIBAL LEADERS (23)
- 0 IDENTIFY MAJOR SIMILAR NATIONAL PROBLEMS (24)
- 0 DEVELOP HEALTH PROGRAMS THAT EMPHASIZE CHANGE IN LIFESTYLE (28)

TIE LINE

E) CULTURE

- 0 SUPPORT TRIBES' CULTURAL AND TRADITIONAL ACTIVITIES (17)
- 0 COMPOSE A WRITTEN TRIBAL HISTORY FROM THE TRIBES PERSPECTIVE (26)

F) COPING

- 0 TEACH TRADITIONAL PEOPLE HOW TO COPE WITH THE OUTSIDE CHANGING WORLD (32)
- 0 IMPROVE OUR COPING SKILLS (34)

G) POLITICAL

- 0 PARTICIPATE IN LOCAL, STATE, AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS (29)
- 0 PLAN FOR ELECTION OF AN INDIAN PRESIDENT (31)

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